/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/137 cont./

121 241 796 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here. Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 796 613 634 [184] The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a. Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner. The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity. To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 796 613 [154] /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally, the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
(554) culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
(343) floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

778 /287 cont./
776 Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of
794 Bu^{c}anfir in Ud Besseba^{c} used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd in
[685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide
[554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom
[771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

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The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

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634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a..., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the [779] ^{c}orf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[171]

1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634
554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

/375 cont./

634 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân.
554 On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of
(613) Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915
634 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the
554 Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma
(648) were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been consider-
634 able. The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple
554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/376 cont./

634 554 repairs of the séquias, periodic cleanings of the basins, hospitality offered to the traveler. An act from the a. H'adduyws of 1166 Heg.: 1755 gives some savory details on that. One finds there a phrase member characteristic of this public order, whose prevalence over private legitimacy was pointed out above: "Whoever issues a plausible revendication (upon a piece of land), but resists (the tillage of the adversary) without consultation with the moqaddem": so much fine, man idda^{o}a bichibha wa ta^{c}arrad'a illâ bi-muchawarat il-muqaddam. This petty magistrate is thus the guardian of the order of the group here under its agrarian, economic, municipal but also judiciary aspect. His role is important. Also numerous documents specify on his behalf sanctions of fines imposed automatically upon anyone who does not obey him. One sees where such an evolution can go. In the late stage that our first officers were able to observe, such a tendency is fully affirmed. [681]

For example, here is a document of the Idaw Geryun of 1292 Heg.: 1875. In proper terms the moqaddem is defined as "having to administer the declarants according to equity, issuing his opinion in all their affairs." This avowed evolution towards personal power is accompanied by new penal arrangements for the repression of falsehood or impiety. A beginning of moralization of the power is glimpsed here. It is a reaction against the old order when the chief anticipates drawing upon a force that is not merely weapons. The attempt is instructive. To speak truthfully, such tendencies arouse opposition, permanent control of the ait Arbâin, rule of unanimity that the moqaddem can uphold only as long as he does not set himself up through violence, and which thus forces him into an incessant demagogy. This consultation with the jemâa is even sometimes expressly imposed upon him. It is thus that the Idaw Geryun in 1218 Heg.: 1803 specify that "the moqaddem or his assistants can do nothing without consultation with the jemâa, illa bi-muchâwarat il-jamâ^{c}a".

It cannot be said that evolution toward personal power, whose contemporaneous phase we have recorded and consolidated, has dried up this aptitude for codification. Perhaps it consequently worked in

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the commune looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institu-
[212] tion could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[794] jemâ^{c}a and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine,
and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

/377 cont./
compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do not come to an agreement, their imẖm shall have the power to increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçẖf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemẖa-s.

In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regulatory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

1. Abbreviations: m, mithqẖl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

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634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
• [554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbɛin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçɛilih' al-ghɛba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemɛas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

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Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

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Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

/48 cont./

always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

/49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, accompanied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints manifests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups possesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanctuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the

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789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

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1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 791 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony, [782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Ma'qil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/. [554] [212] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the knowledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
• [554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The
[192] incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vocabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

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175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifern" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waoûzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
•554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
•554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

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2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

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174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
•554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

595 /218 cont./
[539] eat your harvests (1)!"

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

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[613] Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the
[423] assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

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*634 789 184 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 •554 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1).

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. As his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is [666] [613] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however, *634 692 554 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

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/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

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428 Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He conducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes according to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

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The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to deliberate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar" /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

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198 As a result of the general tendency toward the development of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

*634 •554 /225 cont./ firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small states. [613] In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 184 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arba'in" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

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423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
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2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, [554] [625] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jema'a" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

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/footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

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It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as moreover in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most [778] venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

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343 712 184 [127] /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] 571 [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 57 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

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343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but
they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside.
The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
[578] exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one
another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
683 foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum-
stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the
common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of
these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that
fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in
them by the people for the administration of their property." As
for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for
judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an
agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this
fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of
right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of
the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give
to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or
call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay
large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indis-
pensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the ma-
terial life of the users depends each day on the administration of
the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of
the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, al-
most unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circum-
stances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a deci-
sion by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

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343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] [556] [471] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

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*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 619 [648] /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradition attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different

*634 619 178 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz, who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 619 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime, a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to

*634 619 578 [613] whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal ambitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase. When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in importance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time

• [554] that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

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*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ʿAït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 *554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

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OOO the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

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Chapter II
The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

*634 616 •554 571 The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

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*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
•554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n Alt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "Alt Iraten" in order to conquer the "Alt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n Alt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "Alt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

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175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the Aït Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.
726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "Aït Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "Aït
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
•554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
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/305 cont./

175 159 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's *634 •554 [778] [648] [616] forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it, he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without combat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

[729]

175 159 *634 648 *631 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sultan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic cleverness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

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1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
*554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
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[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important
[178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/314 cont./
175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aît Gassa
159 and the Aît Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
•554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
*634 Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aît Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aît Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
126 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
•554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 .554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 (648) Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/322 cont./

*631 121 182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 • 554 [1078] X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/323 cont./

*634 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of
.554 leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes ab-
554 solute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to
178 deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same re-
791 gions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

(113)

2. Laoust, Manuêl de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
• 554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of
the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives
him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to
[692] make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi 'Ali, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

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554 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
[224] warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and
the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious
and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands
cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed
from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*[634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan
Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the
autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen
/makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/
and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their an-
cestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Hav-
ing reached the degree of development that we have just studied,
the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional mi-
lieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen
/makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends,
much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the
people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

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*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

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*631 *634 *554 Whatever may be the faithfulness of the co-operation given the kaid by his original fraction, and although he may be surrounded by numerous companions, the organization of the command remains very imperfect, and the various functions are very poorly defined. It is the kaid himself who very often superintends the distribution of the food and fodder, just as in war he thinks he is filling his role by giving cartridges to the combatants with his own hand in order to avoid excessive expense. The everyday supplies of sugar, tea, and candles, coveted by the women and slaves, are the object of special surveillance, and the bunch of keys to the storehouses where these precious commodities are locked up scarcely leaves the neck of the great kaid, master of 20 mountain tribes. Not long ago one saw Si el Madani Glawi in a corner of the courtyard of his casbah, separated from the crowd of servants and protected by a wooden grating from an ever possible evil blow, spending long hours receiving news, dictating messages, presiding over the distribution of food, and making sure with a glance through the bars that the slaves were really giving his favorite horse and mule their daily ration of barley.

*631 *634 557 595 X. The transformation of the customs. -- The political and economic revolution brought into the mountains by this new regime is completed by a no less important transformation of the family organization. In this country of strict monogamy the victorious amghar at first began to consolidate his political situation by numerous matrimonial alliances contracted with the families of minor makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs in the valley or the still-independent amghars of the high mountains. Having become kaid, possessor of sizable lands and several residences, he augments at the same time the number of his wives, whom he chooses from among the prettiest girls in the country. It is not without regret sometimes that a peasant /348/ gives his daughter to the lord; but that alliance is most often worth exemptions from taxes for him and effective protection against the mokhaznis and the caliphates. Among the chiefs, political alliances by marriage are constant, and each reconciliation is marked by a new union. The innumerable daughters of the family are exchanged like presents.

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Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domination that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa, will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

/380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his command in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
*634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
* 631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
*634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
182 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
• 554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

•554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ʿAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ʿAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
•554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

105 This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
182 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in progressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
*631 by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
616 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
591 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

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175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/404 cont./

121 171 *631 •554 182 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are inspired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like itself. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly devoted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all circumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 171 *631 554 182 578 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their memory, as do all the companions from their village associated with the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland. Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] [616] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
17 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
•554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
578 house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victorious amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to preserve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/407 cont./

792 795 *631 648 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 795 *631 •554 [778] [788] Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority belongs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 792 795 *631 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid" Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 795 *631 171 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli, master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic *ejjemaa*. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

623 634 635 [171] [192]

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "notable" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

621 623 [554] [561]

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have
• 554 presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*),
634 *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional
635 Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished
[687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting
634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or
635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest
554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* – these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of office, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual generally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein (40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is customarily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 666 527 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertainment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the conclusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 666 [643] To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a candidate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 631 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the [621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res- [613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or [182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 554 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

retained by the *jemaa*, for this body is often reluctant to delegate completely its authority and functions. In theory, and generally in practice, however, the *amghar* represents the tribe in its dealings with neighbouring and foreign social units; protects the interests of the community and the customs and laws of each unit; executes the decisions of the *jemaa*; proposes measures of general communal interest and certain public utilitarian projects, such as irrigation works; oversees the seasonal migrations, or establishes the schedule for planting and harvest; fixes the contribution to be made by each group in money or goods for the maintenance of the public works; acts as administrator of the tribal treasury if there is one (this is particularly the case among the *ksar* of southern Morocco); and, finally, being responsible for public order and safety, supports the police and applies the schedule of fines (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 228-229; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

The powers of the *amghar* are somewhat more extensive in the military sphere, particularly in time of war. He has the authority to compel each division to buy a certain number of horses and guns; together with the tribal *jemaa* he determines the size of the contingent to be furnished by each group and the supplies to be carried, as well as the place of combat and, in case of success, the division of spoils (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 229; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 283-284).

The fluid and often vague separation of powers and responsibilities between the *jemaa* and the *amghar* acts, as may be expected, as a severe restraint upon initiative in leadership.

... La confusion des pouvoirs était grande; l'assemblée des notables, qui les détenait tous, n'abdiquait pas volontiers entre les mains d'un seul; égalitaire à l'excès, elle se montrait résolument hostile à toute tentative de pouvoir personnel; aussi contrôlait-elle avec méfiance les initiatives de l'Amrhar, de sorte qu'il n'osait rien entreprendre sans la consulter; l'autorité de chef était discutée dès qu'elle voulait s'affirmer; elle dépendait moins de son titre que de sa situation personnelle, de son prestige, de la fermeté de son caractère, de la puissance de ses proches, de la crainte qu'il savait à l'occasion inspirer; la situation de ses répondants, ses représentants dans les fractions, était encore moins assise. Dans cette confusion, chacun s'occupait de tout, et le nombre des interlocuteurs obscurcissait encore le débat. Pour éviter des froissements qui auraient entraîné de graves incidents, on s'efforçait de réaliser l'unani-